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ABSTRACT

As a result of state legislators' conviction that Chapter 1 fund mismanagement by the Chicago Public Schools had led to yearly increases in administration size to the detriment of students' real needs, the Chicago School Reform Act of 1988 placed a cap on noninstructional expenses and a progressive cessation on state aid to the poverty impaction element of Illinois' school aid formula. The corrective action required all but 5 percent of Chapter 1 funds to be spent only in schools. School funds have been reallocated to give teachers a 33 percent salary increase and to increase school-level staff while reducing administration size. Prior to reform, schools enrolling between 90 percent and 99 percent low income students received the least funding, while those with 100 percent and less than 30 percent received the most. Although the base level of funding is still far from equal, categorical programs can even out per pupil support so that Chapter 1 funding can have more compensatory effects. Continuing concerns in the arena of fund reallocation relate to the overall fiscal health of the Chicago Board of Education. Graphs and tables are provided to help illustrate funding and staffing changes. (16 references) (EJS)

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THE REALLOCATION OF FUNDS UNDER THE CHICAGO SCHOOL REFORM ACT[1]

G. Alfred Hess, Jr.[2]
CHICAGO PANEL ON PUBLIC SCHOOL POLICY AND FINANCE

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The Chicago School Reform Act was signed into law on December 12, 1988, during the 1988-89 school year. The Act had three major components. It included a set of goals which, together, called for the system to raise student achievement levels to the national norms within five years. The most noted provision of the act established school based management at every school through elected Local School Councils which are dominated by parents. Other papers in this session (Easton, 1991; Ford, 1991) and elsewhere on the program (Hess and Easton, 1991) discuss the first year of implementation of these Local School Councils and of their work.

Generally overlooked in accounts of the Chicago reform effort is the third component which actually appears first in the bill and which serves to undergird the other efforts to achieve the act's goals. Although the final sentence of the act states:

> Notwithstanding the provisions of Sections 6 and 8 of this Act, no reimbursement by the State shall be required for the implementation of any mandate created by this amendatory Act of 1988 (Ch. 85, new par. 2208.13)

the framers of the legislation were convinced that the Chicago Public Schools had mismanaged its resources in the past and that funds could be reprioritized to better serve the system's students. The Act accomplished this aim through two mechanisms. The first placed a cap on non-instructional expenses so that the school system could not spend, proportionally, more on such expenses than the average proportion of such costs in all other school districts in the state. Secondly, the act required a retargeting of state aid generated by the poverty impaction element of Illinois' school aid formula and a progressive cessation of such funds being used to support basic programs of the system. It was estimated that $40 million would be reallocated by these measures during the first year of reform implementation, providing the average elementary school with about $90,000 in new discretionary funds.

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[1] Paper presented to the American Educational Research Association meeting in Chicago on April 4, 1991.

[2] The author wishes to acknowledge the significant research assistance in compiling this report provided by Hilary Addington, Ariana Gilbert, Todd Ricard, and Sandra Storey, all members of the staff of the Chicago Panel. Appreciation is also expressed to staff of the Chicago Public Schools who provided data and assistance.

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Richard Elmore (1988) has suggested to this association that the efforts to improve schools can be categorized under three major approaches. The traditional approach is the *technical transfer* effort of universities to show school personnel how they could better do their job. The insufficiency of this traditional approach has spawned two more radical approaches now dominating the school reform effort under the guise of restructuring the schools. The first is the *teacher professionalization* effort (Cf., Carnegie, 1986) which may be characterized by the statement, "If you'd just let the people who work directly with the kids do what they know would help kids, the schools would get better." This approach focuses on bringing teachers into the decision-making process, particularly at the school level, and has parallels to the worker-participation and quality circles efforts in the contemporary business revival (Deming, 1982). Elmore calls the third model of school reform *client empowerment*, and he includes within that category both enrollment choice plans (clients controlling where to send their children to school) and parent dominated school based management. Chicago is the most dramatic form of client dominated school based management in the current school reform movement.

One of the differences between the teacher professionalization efforts focused on shared decision making and the Chicago model deals with the reallocation of funds. In both Miami (Turner, 1989; Rungeling & Glover, 1991) and Hammond (O'Rourke, 1987), very little new money was allocated to the schools entering into shared decision making, generally less than $5,000. The teacher professionalization effort focused more on having teachers *share in decision-making* without significantly devolving the decisions to be made from one level to another and without significantly restructuring the school district management, as a whole. Through the waiver process, and through some administrative realignment, there has been a wider impact on the district management than just involving teachers in a few decisions at the school level. But the levels and locus of authority were not significantly altered in those experiments.

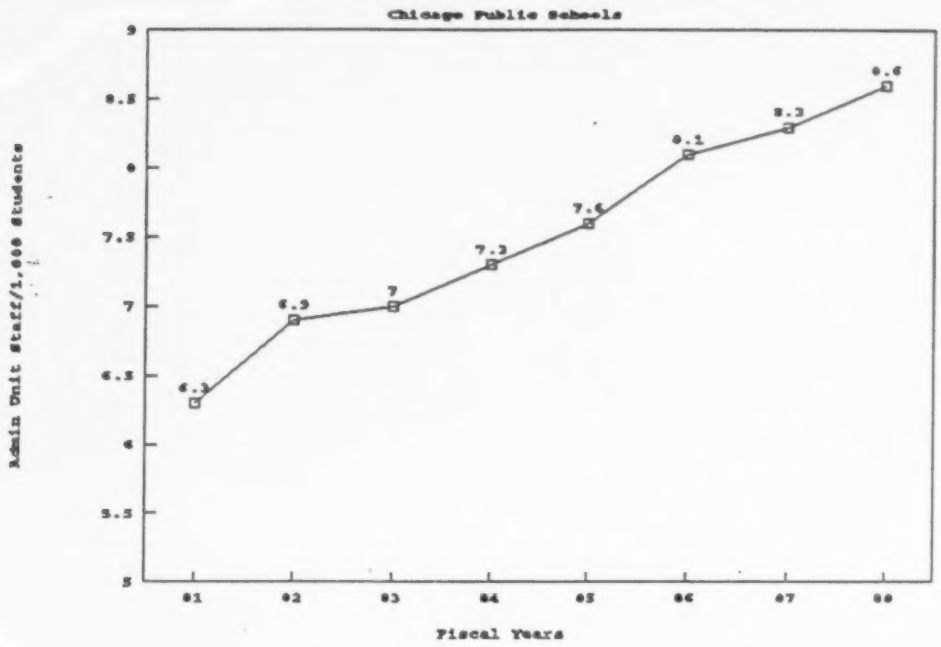
By contrast, in Chicago, the locus of authority was significantly altered (Cf. Hess and Easton, 1991; Hess, 1991), and resources to undergird this new authority were also shifted to the school level. In this paper, I will focus on the reallocation of funds, explaining why the reform advocates thought it was necessary, examining the resulting changes in equity in intradistrict funding, and analyzing the expenditures schools decided to make.

The Growth of the Bureaucracy and the Illegal Diversion of Poverty Funds

As the school reform movement in Chicago was moving towards a climax, the Chicago Panel released two reports which showed the misplaced priorities of the school administration. The first (Hess, 1987) was presented as testimony on the proposed amended budget for the 1987-88 school year, following the settlement of the system's longest teacher strike (19 days) in the Fall of 1987. In that testimony, we reviewed the Board's actions during the system's near bankruptcy in 1979-80, when more than 8,000 positions were eliminated and reminded the current Board members that at that time more than 17 percent

of teachers and other student contact staff were cut, while fewer than 13 percent of employees in the administrative units were eliminated (Hallett & Hess, 1982). The priorities of the administration at that time had been to protect administrative jobs while firing school level people who worked directly with students. We then traced the steady growth in the bureaucracy since the crisis. We presented the material in the following graph:

BUREAUCRATS PER 1,000 STUDENTS



BUREAUCRATIC GROWTH
Chicago Public Schools
(Operating Funds Only)

LOCATION	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Enrollment	458,497	442,889	435,843	434,042	431,226	430,908	431,298	430,000
School Staff	29,339	27,822	28,855	29,185	29,418	29,462	29,919	29,964
Admin Units	2,884	3,036	3,043	3,156	3,295	3,470	3,598	3,708
Total Staff	32,223	30,858	31,898	32,341	32,713	32,932	33,518	33,672
% Admin 9.0%	9.8%	9.5%	9.8%	10.1%	10.5%	10.7%	11.0%	
Admin/1,000	6.3	6.9	7.0	7.3	7.6	8.1	8.3	8.6

These data showed that operating budget staff positions in the administrative units increased in every year from Fiscal Year 1981 (the 1980-81 school year) to FY 1988, the

budget then being considered. In the proposed FY 1988 amended budget, the superintendent was recommending the elimination of more than 800 magnet school teaching staff, while continuing to increase staff in the administrative units by more than 150 positions. This budget proposal convinced the reform advocates that legislation would be required to alter the budget priorities of the school system's administration.

During that same period, Panel staff were analyzing the way in which poverty impact generated state funds were being distributed to schools. For some years, the Chicago Panel had been concerned about resources available to poor inner city schools in Chicago. The Panel is an independent, non-profit research and advocacy coalition which has also provided budget and finance training to parents and staffs of local schools. Teachers and principals at inner city schools had complained for years that their schools were being under funded. Their particular complaint focused on the distribution of the poverty impact aid known as State Chapter I. In Illinois, unlike most states, one element of the distributive aid formula gives extra weighting to students from poverty impacted homes. During the 1987-88 school year, that weighting provided $238,308,000 of the $569,000,000 in state distributive aid provided to the Chicago Public Schools. In that year, the Chicago Public Schools expenditures totaled $1.9 billion.

The Chicago Panel was also concerned about funding for these inner city schools because its research into the Chicago dropout problem (Hess and Lauber, 1986) had shown that dropout rates were highest in these schools. The research also showed that poverty (as indicated by the percentage of students qualifying for a free lunch) was one of the most important factors related to dropping out. The Panel was concerned about finding resources to bolster the programs in the schools with high dropout rates and in the elementary schools which were inadequately preparing inner city students for high school. These were the same schools at which teachers and principals were claiming to be short changed.

There had been several earlier attempts to assure that poor children received the primary benefit of State Chapter I funds. The poverty-impactation element was introduced into the Illinois distributive aid formula in 1973. Over the years, the General Assembly, under pressure from suburban and rural legislators, had decreased the impact of the poverty weighting component by limiting the proportion of total enrollment which can be counted as disadvantaged (originally 75 percent, the limitation is currently at 62.5 percent). In 1978, the Chicago Urban League filed suit to compel the Chicago Board of Education to direct its revenues from the poverty-impaction element of the formula to schools where poor children attended. The suit became moot when the General Assembly adopted legislation forcing the Chicago Board to distribute 60 percent of State Chapter I funds to attendance centers on the basis of enrolled qualifying students (calculated by the free lunch count) while allowing 40 percent to be distributed to attendance centers proportionately to total enrollment. Chapter I funds were not to be used to replace general operating funds. Efforts to track the Chicago Board's implementation of this new requirement focused on the use of scattergrams, straight line regressions, and measurements of funding changes on a school by school basis. The Illinois State Board of Education was charged to monitor the

implementation of this legislation, and regularly approved the Chicago Board's annual plan, with only minor modifications.

The Investigatory Research

On behalf of the sponsoring agency, Panel staff set out to determine to what extent the Chicago Board of Education was using the State Chapter I funds inappropriately. The initial presumption was that the Chicago Board was manipulating its other general revenues and categorical programs to offset the effect of State Chapter I funding. Because the 1978 legislation focused on changes from preceding year usage without ever analyzing the equity of funding in a base year, such disproportionate use of other funds would not necessarily be in violation of the law. However, a closer inspection of actual funding patterns revealed both this disproportionate use of Non-Chapter I funds and reallocation of Chapter I funds away from attendance centers, which was not permitted under the 1978 legislation (Chicago Panel, 1988).

Each year, the Chicago Board is required to submit a "Plan for the Improvement of Instruction for Disadvantaged Students in the Chicago Public Schools" to the Illinois State Board of Education. The plan lists Chapter I allocations to each school in the district. However, the total budget allocation for each school in the 1987-88 plan did not match the total budget for each school in the systemwide budget. A closer inspection revealed that nearly a third of the targeted aid (the 60 percent to be allocated to schools on the basis of the enrollment of free lunch students) was being deducted for "Program Support" at the central offices. These funds were being used to support central office coordinators for many basic programs, some of whose costs were being borne out of Chapter I funds, but which were also supported in some schools with regular funds. However, the administrative functions were being funded entirely out of targeted aid. Thus, a kindergarten coordinator and a library coordinator, both working at the central administrative offices, and overseeing programs which were evenly distributed to all schools, regardless of the funding source, were being supported out of funds targeted to schools on the basis of poverty impact. Thus, poor kids were being deprived of resources at the school level to support bureaucrats administering systemwide programs. This practice violated the 1978 legislation in two respects: program support funds were not directed to attendance centers, the only location allowed under the law, and targeted funds were being used to support services to all children. However, it was the scope of this misuse which was stunning. In 1987-88, $42 million was being illegally diverted to Program Support.

USES OF STATE CHAPTER I FUNDS
Chicago Public Schools, 1987-88

TOTAL STATE CHAPTER I	$238,308,000	
NON-TARGETED AID to schools	95,086,000	39.9%
CHAPTER I ENTITLEMENT @ $498.82/pupil	**$143,222,000**	**60.1%**
Less PROGRAM SUPPORT @$146/pupil	- 41,996,000	17.6%
CHAPTER I TARGETED receivedd at schools	**$101,226,000**	**42.5%**

Instead of sending 60 percent of poverty generated funds to the targeted schools, the bureaucracy retained 17.5 percent for its own uses and distributed only 42.5 percent to schools attended by eligible students. Program Support funds were deducted primarily from poverty impacted schools although the deducted funds were primarily used to support administrative overhead for basic programs which were distributed evenly across all schools, regardless of poverty impact.

This investigation led to a further examination of the uses of Chapter I funds at the school level. In obvious defiance of the intent of the 1978 legislation, the Chicago Board of Education used the majority of Chapter I support to provide basic programs which were evenly distributed to all schools without regard for the number of poverty-impacted students. Thus, $166.3 million of the $238 million in State Chapter I aid was used to support such systemwide programs as:

Guidance	$24.8 million
Library	23.6 million
Kindergarten	22.9 million
HS Music, Art, For. Lang.	20.8 million
Special Education Services	25.9 million
Normal School Administration (Clerks)	32.5 million

These services were distributed relatively evenly across the system. In schools with heavy concentrations of poor students, they were supported by Chapter I funds; in schools with low concentrations of poor students, they were supported by other Board revenues. Under federal programs, such usage would be known as "supplanting" and would have been illegal. Although this usage was not explicitly illegal under the 1978 state legislation, it was clearly contrary to the intent of the law, which was that Chapter I funds should be used to supplement the educational offerings to disadvantaged students in order to ameliorate that disadvantage. Instead, the Chicago Board used these funds to supplant the cost of basic programs offered to all students, regardless of their disadvantage. This was clearly to the benefit of more affluent students.

Because the Chicago Board of Education deducted nearly a third of *targeted* Chapter I aid to pay for administrative support for basic programs, schools with heavy concentrations of poor students bore the heaviest share of those overhead costs, while schools with few poor students suffered insignificant deductions. At the extremes, schools with 100 percent poor students (there were 96 such schools in 1987-88) lost $146 per pupil while schools with no poor students (two schools) lost nothing. In this way, the actual difference in Chapter I funding per qualifying student was reduced from $498.82 to $352.82 per pupil.

REDUCTION OF COMPENSATORY EFFORT
Due to Program Support Deduction

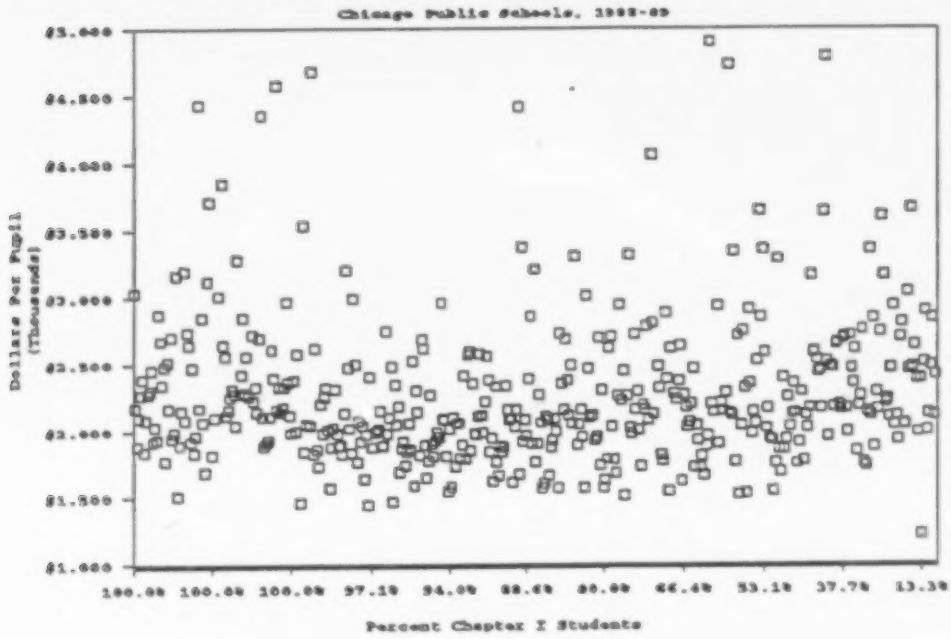
	Schools with 100 % Poor Pupils	Schools with 0 % Poor Pupils	Differential
Apparent Support:			
Targeted/Pupil	$498.82	$0.00	$498.82
Non-Targeted	227.95	227.95	0.00
Total Chapter I	**$726.77**	**$227.95**	**$498.82**
Actual Receipts:			
Less Program Support	- 146.00	- 0.00	
Total Received	**$580.77**	**$227.95**	**$352.82**

The result of deducting the administrative overhead only from targeted aid was that schools with high concentrations of poverty students bore an unequal share of the overhead costs of programs which were distributed equally in all schools, diluting the compensatory effect of the State Chapter I aid.

A more detailed research effort was required to document the disproportionate distribution of Non-Chapter I resources. An examination of school level funding revealed that Non-Chapter I resources varied from a low of $1,100 per pupil at one elementary school to $5,822 per pupil at another. The first school served primarily disadvantaged pupils (97.2 percent qualified for free lunch), while less than half (46.2%) of the students at the second school were disadvantaged. However, the pattern of disproportional Non-Chapter I resources was not easily discovered. Both the Chicago Urban League and the Illinois State Board had examined the funding pattern within the public schools and failed to prove a systematic misdistribution. Both had utilized a combination of techniques including scattergrams, straight-line regressions, and school level change measures. On a database of 450 elementary schools, with significant variations in programs among the various schools, especially in the number of special education children served, scattergrams showed a wide distribution of resources at all concentrations of low income students. A pattern was

difficult to see. The following scattergram shows per pupil expenditures in regular elementary schools in 1987-88.

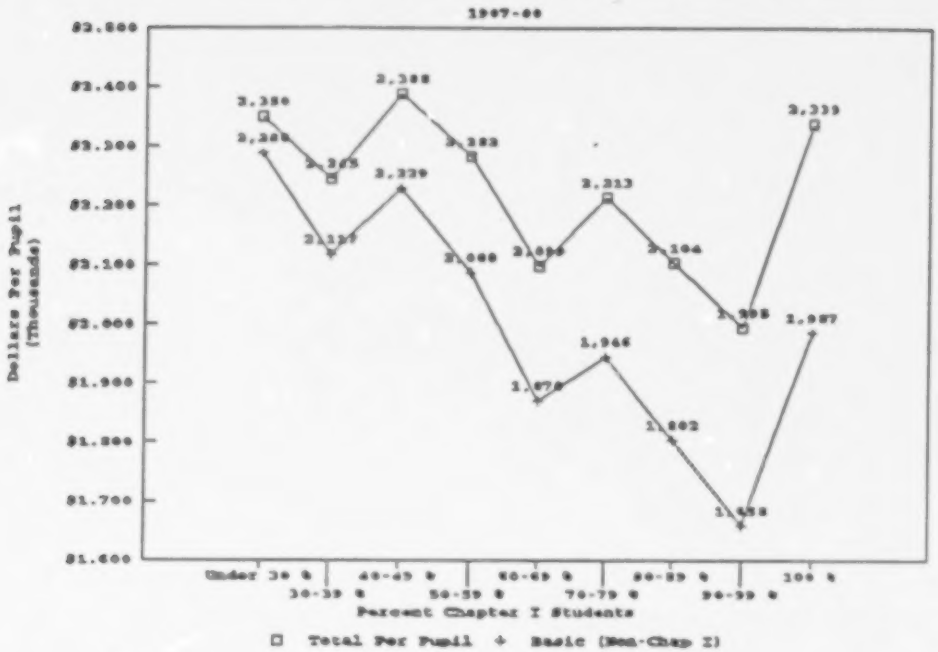
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL BUDGETS PER PUPIL



However, a systematic pattern emerged when schools were grouped by deciles of low income concentration. When all schools with 100 percent low income students, and those between 90 and 99 percent, and those between 80 and 89 percent, an so on, were aggregated together and the average per pupil support was calculated, both with and without Chapter I resources, the picture on the following page appeared.

The average per pupil spending for schools with fewer than 30 percent low income students was $2,350, second only to that of schools with between 40 and 49 percent low income ($2,388). The third highest spending was in schools with 100 percent low income students ($2,339). There were 96 schools, enrolling 63,001 students, in the 100 percent category. However, even more students, 93,033, attended the 112 schools with poverty concentrations between 90 and 99 percent. Per pupil spending at these schools averaged only $1,995, the lowest spending level in the system. This curvilinear relationship, in which students attending schools with poverty concentrations between 60 and 99 percent received the lowest funding while students attending schools at the extremes received the highest, was

ELEMENTARY PER PUPIL EXPENDITURE



masked in straight line regressions and change calculations.

The distribution of Non-Chapter I funds was even more disproportionate, with average per pupil spending exceeding $2,000 in schools with less than 60 percent poor enrollments and under that figure for all groups with more than 60 percent poor students. The reduced differential in Chapter I funding provided some amelioration, but not enough to get to an even distribution of per pupil resources, let alone to achieve a compensatory level of funding as concentrations of poor students increased.

Utilization of the Research Findings

The Chicago Panel distributed the foregoing research findings to approximately 500 legislators, office holders, policy-makers, and citizen activists across the state. This research was released as school reform legislation for Chicago was being fashioned in the General Assembly. At the request of the Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives, staff of the Chicago Panel and the Chicago Urban League wrote corrective language to be incorporated in the reform law. This corrective action was strongly supported by the other school reform activists helping to shape the reform package. In addition, two of the reform groups, MALDEF (Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, a member of

the Panel's coalition) and PURE (Parents United for Responsible Education) filed suit against the Chicago Board and the State Board on the basis of this research. The corrective action, phased in over five years, was incorporated in the Chicago School Reform Act (P.A. 85-1418).

The correction required the Chicago Board of Education to spend all but five percent of State Chapter I receipts in local schools, and only in schools. This meant that the $42 million program support deduction was eliminated for the first year of school reform implementation. In addition, the Board of Education was required to increase the proportion of targeted funds by ten percentage points each year until all State Chapter I funds would be distributed on the basis of qualifying (i.e., free lunch) students in four years. Further, the Board was to move to provide support for all basic programs from Non-Chapter I, non-categorical resources, making Chapter I funds supplemental and available for discretionary decision-making at the school level. This requirement provided an average of $189,032 in supplementary and discretionary funding to schools with 100 percent low income enrollments. Lower concentration schools received less, but even the schools with fewer than 30 percent low income students averaged $85,091 in supplemental funding. The Board will phase in the proportion of State Chapter I funds available for supplemental use in twenty percent increments over five years.

The Reallocation of Chicago Public School Funds

There have been dramatic shifts in funding in the Chicago Public Schools since the beginning of the school reform effort. One important dimension of those shifts is the significant increase in total revenues available to the system during a time when a cap was put on administrative expenses and nearly 25,000 students left the system. These various elements, working in tandem, greatly expanded the dollars per pupil expenditures at the school level. Between FY 1988 and FY 1990, revenues rose by $366 million, a 19.9 percent increase. Of that amount, $240 million came from local sources, primarily increased property tax receipts, $45 million came in greater federal support, and $97 million came in increased state aid. However, for FY 1991, revenues actually decreased by $23 million, due to a state aid decrease of $80 million which could not be offset by a $64 million increase in local revenues and a $19 million increase from the federal government. In order to be able to continue granting planned pay increases, the system froze and then cut expenditures during the second half of the 1989-90 school year so that total spending could grow by about $60 million for FY 1991.

Revenues and Resources
Chicago Public Schools
(in millions)

	FY 1988	FY 1989	FY 1990	FY 1991
Local Property Taxes	$ 607.3	$ 739.9	$ 840.6	$ 893.0
Other Local Revenue	40.4	41.6	47.0	58.3
Total Local	647.7	781.5	887.6	951.3
State Distributive Aid	569.0	571.4	594.9	544.8
Categorical Support	343.8	349.5	414.7	384.5
Total State	912.8	920.9	1,009.6	929.3
Federal Grants	228.7	245.9	274.0	293.1
Sale of Bonds	48.0	20.3	31.7	6.0
Total Revenues	**$ 1,837.2**	**$ 1,968.6**	**$ 2,202.9**	**$ 2,179.7**
Carry Over Funds	70.5	42.0	55.4	139.3
Total Resources	**$ 1,907.7**	**$ 2,010.6**	**$ 2,258.2**	**$ 2,319.1**

Source: Annual Budgets of the Chicago Board of Education

The ability of the Chicago Board of Education to balance its budget and to make more funds available to support school level reform is primarily attributable to increasing property tax receipts, which over the four budget years have expanded by 47 percent. Total state aid increased just $16.5 million, or 1.8 percent. Thus, the revenue increase did not indicate the state was fueling reform. To the contrary, reform is being accomplished without significant assistance from the state!

Education is a people intensive enterprise; it takes teachers and aides, custodians and lunchroom staff, principals and guidance counselors to create a public school. Between 72 and 76 percent of the annual budgets of the Chicago Public Schools were devoted to salaries, pensions, and medical benefits. As revenues increase, it is natural to expect that much of the increase will be in the cost of personnel, as has been the case. Of the $411 million in higher expenditure in FY 1991 as compared with FY 1988, $262 million (63.7 percent) went to the costs of compensation. But higher compensation costs may reflect either more staff or higher salaries. In Chicago's case, it was both.

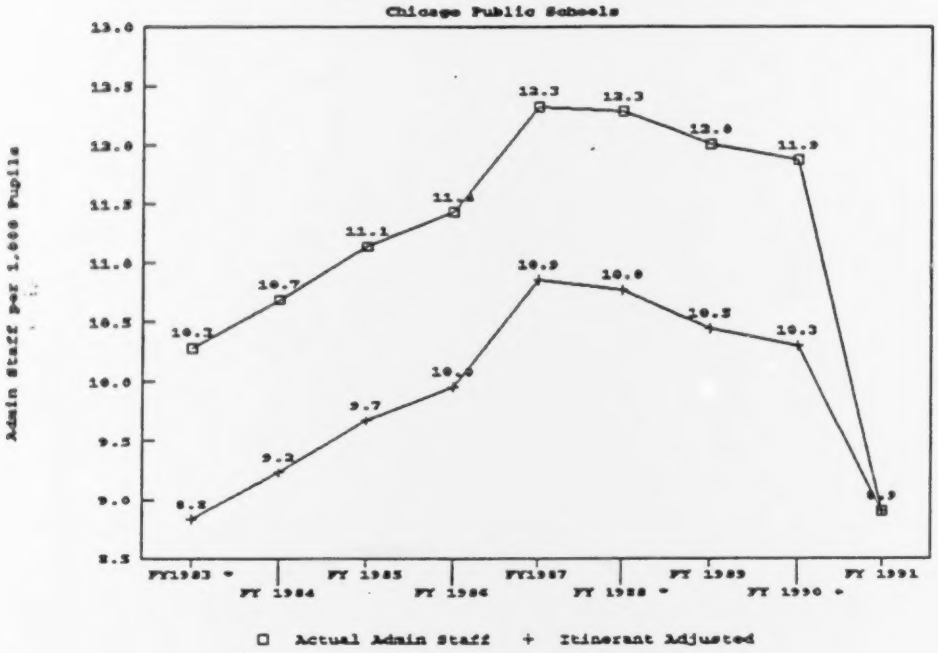
33 Percent Salary Increase

Teachers received moderate salary increases in the two years following the fall 1987 strike (FYs 1988 and 1989). They received slightly larger increases in FY 1990 and FY 1991 and are scheduled to receive seven percent increases in both FY 1992 and 1993. Together, they will have increased their base salary by nearly 33 percent over six years. Under other circumstances, some might have evaluated the 19 day strike as well worth it, from the employees' perspective. The average salary of all teacher certified staff, including administrators, rose from $31,682 in FY 1988 to $38,585 in FY 1991.

Reducing the Size of the Administration

As noted earlier, one of the concerns of reform advocates was where employees worked. The Panel's budget testimony during the Fall of 1987, after the strike, had demonstrated the rising proportion of staff assigned to work in the system's administrative units, and the corresponding declining proportion working in schools. Pressure from the growing reform movement forced the Board of Education to reject the superintendent's proposed budget with its projected teacher cuts in favor of small cuts in the administration. The pressure, reinforced by passage of the reform act, held down the administration in the FY 1989 and FY 1990 budgets. Actions of the Board during FY 1990, not ready for inclusion in the formal budget, but implemented shortly thereafter, show up as a significant reducation in the administration for FY 1991. The numbers on the following graph reflect adjustments to allocate previously undesignated staff employed under government funded projects and lunchroom staff. Following years of pressure from the Chicago Panel and its allies, the school system started showing the units to which these staff were assigned in FY 1989.

ADMINSTRATIVE STAFF per 1,000 PUPILS



Staff Increases at the School Level

Part of the reduction in positions assigned to administrative units was of marginal importance to local schools. About 600 teachers are assigned as itinerants, providing specialized services on a part-time basis to a number of different schools. A school nurse might serve five different schools, spending one day a week at each one. A speech therapist might serve ten schools, spending only half a day in each. In the past, these itinerant teachers were budgeted to sub-district offices and were under the direct supervision of the sub-district superintendents. Under reform implementation, these staff were budgeted to the schools they serve and are responsible, during that part of the week, to the school principal. While this arrangement does bring the itinerant staff more directly under a school's educational leader, in most cases this has meant no significant change in services available to students. The lower line on the previous graph shows the estimated effect of deducting these itinerant staff from the administrative units to which they had been assigned. Even allowing for this anomaly, the administrative staff have been returned to FY 1983 levels, a significant reversal of the trend during the mid-1980s.

An examination of the full staffing pattern (see table, next page) shows some interesting developments under the initial years of reform implementation. It should be noted that enrollment dropped sharply from the pre-strike level of 431,298 to 404,409 three years later (FY 1990), as reform was beginning. Since demographic predictions had forcast a continuation of the relative enrollment stability between FY 1985 and FY 1987, the decrease must be interpreted as related to the long teacher strike. Enrollment has been fairly stable for the last three years. With the declining enrollment, some decline in classroom teachers might be expected. On the basis of a loss in enrollment of 14,448 students between FY 1988 and FY 1990, the staffing formula in the teachers union contract would lead analysts to expect teacher reductions of about 516. Actual classroom teacher reductions from FY 1988 to FY 1990 were about 425, in part reflecting the reintroduction of half-time art or music teachers in most elementary schools. The nearly 750 position increase in classroom teachers for FY 1991 exceeds the expected ratio for a small enrollment increase.

What also stands out on the staffing table is the increase in educational support staff and aides. At the school level, the increase in educational support staff is even larger, due to the rebudgeting of itinerant teachers. But even allowing for the shifting of 617 staff from one budget to the other, there still has been an increase of 374 support teachers at the school level, nearly one per school. Almost all of this increase took place in FY 1991, the first year Local School Councils (LSCs) had control of their budgets. There has been an increase in aides at the school level of 1,381, or almost three per school; the increase occurred during the past two years, since LSCs have had control of added discretionary funds. After a small loss in school clerks in FY 1989, those positions and a few more have been restored in FY 1991. In addition to the offseting loss of the budgeted itinerant teachers, the administrative units have lost nearly a quarter (23.0 percent) of their administrators (ranging in rank from coordinator to deputy superintendent), twelve percent of non-teacher professional and technical staff, and more than 40 percent of their clerks.

STAFFING CHANGES OVER FOUR YEARS
CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS
FY 1988 to FY 1991

Fiscal Year:	1988 *	1989	1990 +	1991	Change	% Change
Enrollment:	418,857	406,372	404,409	407,850	1988-91	1988-91
POSITION TYPE						
SYSTEMWIDE						
STUDENT CONTACT						
Teachers	22,409.1	22,312.8	21,984.3	22,727.3	318.2	1.4%
Ed'l Support Tchrs	2,621.0	2,609.5	2,633.6	3,014.8	393.8	15.0%
Aides	3,701.0	3,862.0	4,246.0	5,150.8	1,449.8	39.2%
ADMINISTRATION						
Administrators	1,651.7	1,527.4	1,554.0	1,465.3	(186.4)	-11.3%
Profess'l/Tech'l	374.7	379.5	379.4	377.5	2.8	0.7%
OPERATIVES						
Clerks/Lunchroom	7,353.8	7,115.7	6,860.1	6,586.8	(767.0)	-10.4%
Mainten/Operatives	4,656.7	4,525.0	4,506.8	4,687.9	31.2	0.7%
GRAND TOTAL	42,768.1	42,331.9	42,164.2	44,010.4	1,242.3	2.9%
SCHOOLS						
STUDENT CONTACT						
Teachers	22,382.1	22,295.8	21,922.7	22,662.3	280.2	1.3%
Ed'l Support Tchrs	1,534.1	1,537.9	1,530.2	2,525.5	991.4	64.6%
Aides	3,633.2	3,797.0	4,113.2	5,014.8	1,381.6	38.0%
ADMINISTRATION						
Administrators	768.4	764.7	765.8	785.0	16.6	2.2%
Profess'l/Tech'l	27.5	33.0	34.7	71.5	44.0	159.8%
OPERATIVES						
Clerks/Lunchroom	5,347.3	5,187.8	5,174.2	5,414.8	67.5	1.3%
Mainten/Operatives	3,928.8	3,835.0	3,822.1	3,904.9	(23.9)	-0.6%
TOTAL	37,621.4	37,451.2	37,363.0	40,378.8	2,757.4	7.3%
ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS						
STUDENT CONTACT						
Teachers	27.0	17.0	61.5	65.0	38.0	140.5%
Ed'l Support Tchrs	1,086.9	1,071.6	1,103.4	489.3	(597.6)	-55.0%
Aides	67.9	65.0	132.8	136.0	68.1	100.4%
ADMINISTRATION						
Administrators	883.3	762.7	788.2	680.3	(203.0)	-23.0%
Profess'l/Tech'l	347.2	346.5	344.7	306.0	(41.2)	-11.9%
OPERATIVES						
Clerks/Lunchroom	2,006.5	1,927.9	1,685.8	1,172.0	(834.5)	-41.6%
Mainten/Operatives	727.9	690.0	684.7	783.0	55.1	7.6%
TOTAL	5,146.7	4,880.7	4,801.2	3,631.6	(1,515.1)	-29.4%
LUNCHROOM	4,002.0	3,836.0	3,563.0	3,281.0	(721.0)	-18.0%
GRAND TOTAL	42,768.1	42,331.9	42,164.2	44,010.4	1,242.3	2.9%

3/12/91 * Govt Funded Apportioned + Prorated from Tentative Budget

An examination of the location of staff further indicates that the proportion working in schools gradually increased for two years, from 87.7 percent to 88.6 percent, before jumping to 91.7 percent in FY 1991. While an increase of four percentage points does not look large for the schools, the four point drop in the administrative units represented a 32.5 percent decrease (from 12.3 percent to 8.3 percent of all employees). About a third of that decrease is represented by the reassignment in the budget of the itinerant staff, leaving a 21.1 percent decline in staff actually working in administrative offices. There was a systemwide decrease of 436.7 staff from FY 1988 to FY 1989, and a further decrease of 166.2 the following year, with most of the loss during those two years coming from the administrative units. In FY 1991, in addition to the rebudgeting of the itinerant staff, the administrative units lost an additional 552 positions, while school positions jumped by 3,015 (2,397 exclusive of the itinerants).

The Chicago Board of Education supports a number of specialty schools in addition to its regular elementary schools, general high schools, and vocational high schools. The number of staff in the specialty schools has remained fairly constant, with small increases in FY 1991. General and vocational high schools lost about 1,000 positions in FY 1989, but about recouped them in FY 1991. It is significant to note that the basic operating budget did not support significant increases; they were provided by increased government funded programs, primarily increased discretionary funding under the reallocation of State Chapter I funds. In the elementary schools, the picture was more exaggerated. The elementary schools lost 2,234 staff in FY 1989, lost a few more in FY 1990, but increased by 5,269 in FY 1991. While the majority of the itinerant teachers were rebudgeted to the elementary schools, this still represents an growth in elementary school staff of more than 4,600 positions. Some of those positions were actually filled during FY 1990, as the newly elected LSCs decided how to use their discretionary funds during the school year. Again, 60.5 percent of the increase in positions was supported by government funds, primarily State Chapter I.

Staff By Location
Chicago Public Schools
FY 1988 to FY 1991

	FY 1988			FY 1989			FY 1990			FY 1991		
	OPER BUDGET	GOV'T FUNDS	ALL FUNDS	OPER BUDGET	GOV'T FUNDS	ALL FUNDS	OPER BUDGET	GOV'T FUNDS	ALL FUNDS	OPER BUDGET	GOV'T FUNDS	ALL FUNDS
GRAND TOTAL STAFF	37,200.4	5,567.7	42,768.1	37,275.3	5,056.1	42,331.4	36,878.6	5,286.6	42,165.2	35,248.7	8,761.7	44,010.4
TOTAL ADMINISTRATIVE UNI	4,073.6	1,193.0	5,266.6	3,797.3	1,083.4	4,880.7	3,512.2	1,289.0	4,801.2	2,784.9	846.7	3,631.6
Central Office	2,792.8	486.1	3,278.9	2,388.7	441.4	2,830.1	3,186.7	1,285.0	4,471.7	2,432.2	826.5	3,258.7
District & Diagnostic Units	1,280.8	707.0	1,987.8	1,408.6	642.0	2,050.6	325.5	4.0	329.5	352.7	20.2	372.9
TOTAL SCHOOLS	33,126.8	4,374.7	37,501.5	33,478.0	3,972.7	37,450.7	33,366.4	3,997.6	37,364.0	32,463.8	7,915.0	40,378.8
Adult Ed Centers	2.1	65.5	67.7	0.0	59.5	59.5	0.0	68.5	68.5	5.0	81.0	86.0
Special Ed Schools	843.3	246.1	1,089.4	830.1	223.5	1,053.6	864.4	238.4	1,102.8	948.8	261.7	1,210.5
Trade Schools	162.0	1.0	163.0	125.3	0.9	126.2	113.3	1.0	114.3	127.7	3.0	130.7
Industrial Skills Ctr	26.8	4.7	31.5	28.0	4.3	32.3	26.8	4.4	31.2	29.8	8.2	38.0
Educ & Voc Guidance Ctrs	105.9	13.9	119.8	106.6	12.6	119.2	106.6	13.6	120.2	108.3	30.2	138.5
High Schls/Urban Yth Prgm	8,783.4	483.6	9,267.0	7,899.7	439.2	8,338.9	7,849.4	448.8	8,298.2	8,043.8	1,019.2	9,063.0
Vocational High Schools	1,400.7	40.4	1,441.1	1,243.7	36.7	1,280.4	1,215.8	37.7	1,253.5	1,280.1	136.6	1,416.7
TOTAL HIGH & SPEC SCHL	11,324.3	855.3	12,179.6	10,233.4	776.7	11,010.1	10,176.3	812.4	10,988.7	10,543.5	1,539.9	12,083.4
ELEM, UPPER CYCLE & CPC	21,802.5	3,519.4	25,321.9	19,891.6	3,196.0	23,087.6	19,841.1	3,185.2	23,026.3	21,920.3	6,375.1	28,295.4

3/7/91

The Equity Effects of Reallocating Chapter I Funding

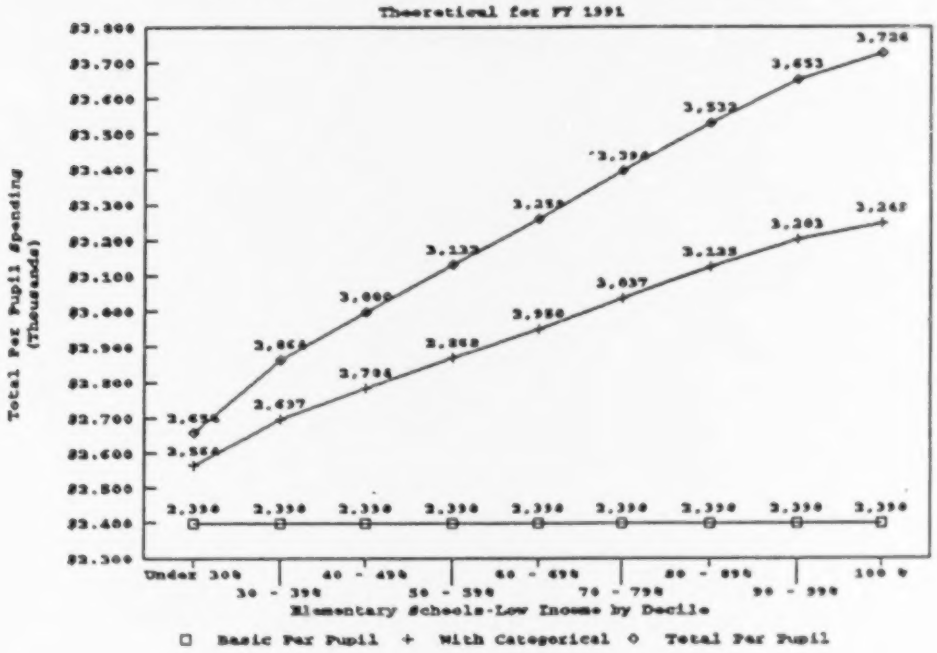
In addition to a concern about focusing resources on schools rather than in the administration, the framers of the reform legislation were concerned about the equitable distribution of those resources among schools. As indicated above, two of the groups active in the reform movement went so far as to file suit against the Chicago and State Boards of Education to assure proper distribution of the Chicago Board's resources. The framers of the reform act included the following provision that the systemwide plan of reform goals and objectives designed by the Chicago Board of Education:

> ...ensure the equitable distribution among the schools and programs of funds budgeted by the Board in accordance with applicable laws, rules and regulations (P.A. 85-1418, Sec. 34A-412.a.8).

Panel staff have examined the budgets of the Chicago Board of Education and the annual plans for distribution of State Chapter I funds to monitor the funding levels for each school in the system. For the following analysis, most of the specialty schools have been excluded, since they are designed for students with specific special needs and the reform act specifically charges the Board to treat separately the special needs of students. Some schools for multiply handicapped students received more than $15,000 per pupil to meet these special needs. But in the total picture, these schools enroll only about six percent of all students in the system. Excluding them presents a more accurate picture of the distribution of funds to most schools in the system.

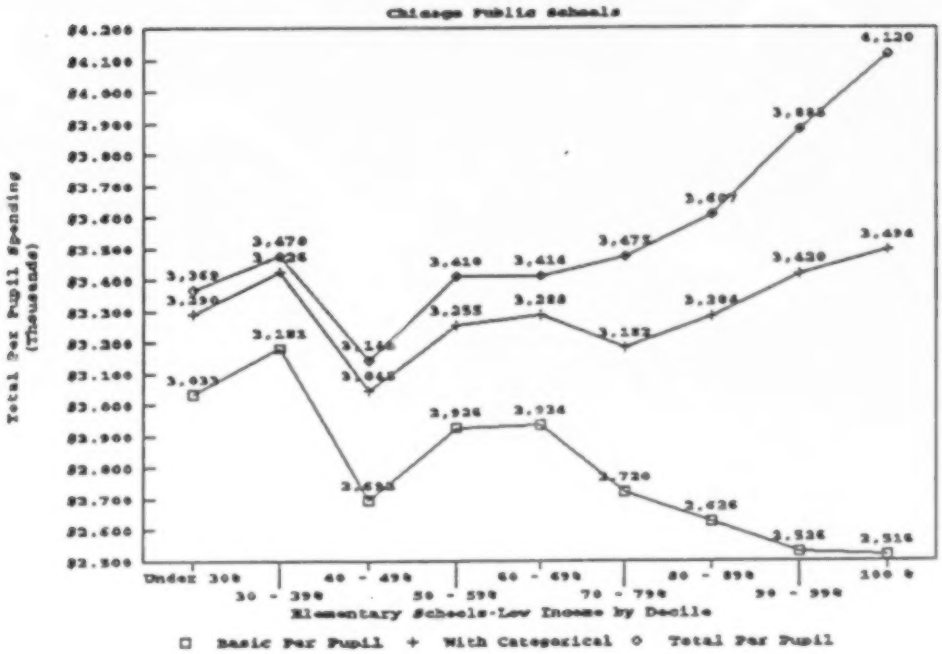
Prior to reform, the funds were unevenly distributed, with schools enrolling between 90 and 99 percent low income students receiving the least funding, while those with 100 percent low income and those with less than 30 percent low income received the most. For compensatory aid to work as the reform advocates envisioned it, the base level of funding at each school should be essentially equal, with other categorical grants and the Chapter I compensatory aid added above that equal base. The ideal picture would look like the following graph:

IDEAL PER PUPIL DISTRIBUTION



This graph is in sharp contrast to the graph for FY 1988 shown above on page 9. But the actual picture for FY 1991 is moving toward the ideal.

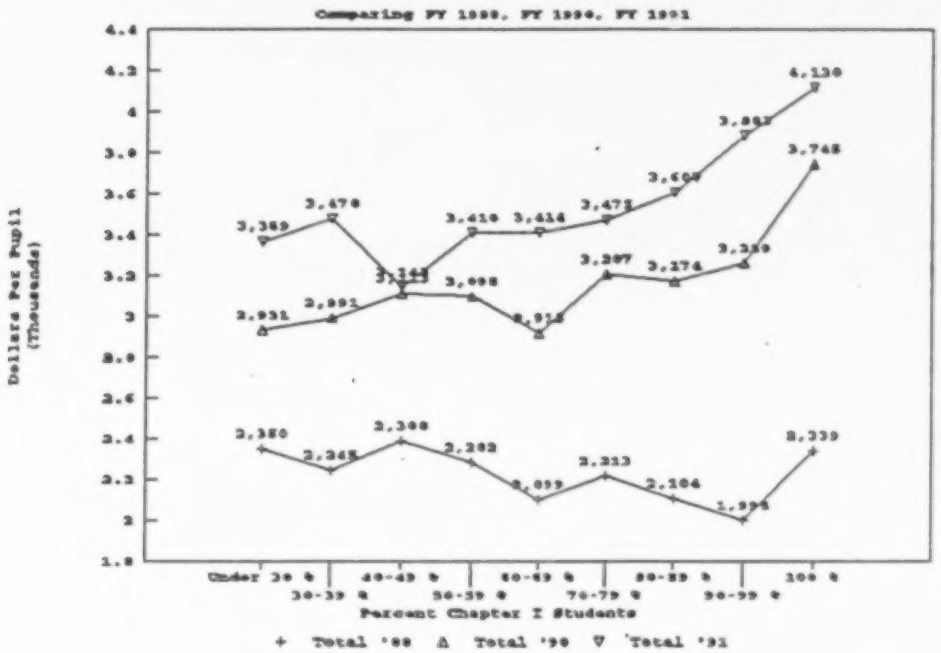
LOW INCOME vs. TOTAL PER PUPIL



As can be clearly seen from this graph, categorical programs, when added to basic levels of funding, begin to even out the per pupil support across the system, so that the supplementary/discretionary funding from State Chapter I provides more compensatory effects. However, it is also clear that the base level is far from equal at present. It must be remembered that the process for phasing in the targeting and discretionary features of the State Chapter I funds allows the Chicago Board of Education several years to achieve equality in base level funding. For FY 1991, 80 percent of State Chapter I funds are targeted to schools on the basis of their low income enrollments, but 20 percent is still distributed to all students equally. In addition, 40 percent of the funds are earmarked as supplemental, or discretionary. That means that 60 percent is still providing basic services. As that 60 percent is withdrawn over the next three years, a greater equity in basic program services will be forced on the Board and greater compensatory effect will be created. It is clear that the Board still has some distance to travel to achieve basic program equality.

But the progress achieved thus far should not be underestimated. The following graph shows the improvement from the FY 1988 base year for the first and second years of reform implementation.

ELEMENTARY PER PUPIL EXPENDITURE



This graph shows both the impact of increased revenues in the system since FY 1988 and the effects of the reallocation of State Chapter I funds. The revenue increases, combined with rebudgeting of itinerant staff and the decrease in enrollment of about 13,000 students, have resulted in significantly higher per pupil resources at the school level. That has had the effect of moving the whole line higher on the graph for each succeeding year. However, it is the reallocation of State Chapter I which is responsible for changing the direction of the slope of the lines from downward to upward. It is also responsible for the straightening out of the line for the upper ranges of the concentration of low income students. Thus, while the Board still must move to equalize the basic program levels, the progress to date has been significant.

A regression analysis of all schools shows a correlation (*Pearson's r*) of .30, showing that there is a moderately strong association between the percent of low income students and per pupil expenditures. When the number of schools was reduced to include only schools which existed prior to reform, the association increased from a weak level ($r = 0.11$) in FY 1989 to a moderate correlation in FY 1991 ($r = 0.25$). Thus, the methodology of grouping schools by deciles of low income concentrations has not significantly distorted the overall picture.

The foregoing analysis has focused upon elementary schools. The picture for high schools is much less clear. In large part this is because the method of counting low income students (those signed up for free or reduced price lunch) is unsatisfactory in high schools, for analytic purposes. Some 79.2 percent of elementary students have registered for a free or reduced price lunch. However, in the high schools, the proportion is only about 40 percent. Since it is highly improbable that students suddenly become more affluent when they enter ninth grade, a more likely explanation is that high school students are more likely to leave the school to eat lunch, and therefore simply do not sign up for the free lunch. This behavior makes the measure of enrolled low income students unreliable and confounds the results. Regression analysis of the relationship between the proportion of recorded low income students and per pupil expenditures showed no significant association.

Pupil Teacher Ratios

But dollars per pupil do not tell the whole tale. Because the Board's contract with the Chicago Teachers Union includes a salary scale with various steps depending upon the years of experience and the amount of education individual teachers have, different teachers cost different amounts. The reform act did not alter the basic method of assigning positions in relation to the number of students, irrespective of salary cost of the occupants of those positions. Thus, one school's budget for the salaries of 30 teachers might be $990,000 (at an average salary of $33,000) while another's might be $825,000 (at an average of $25,000) for the same number of teachers. To test whether differences in per pupil spending were simply reflecting differences in the cost of teacher salaries, Panel staff have also analyzed teacher and staff ratios at every school.

We analyzed the pupil teacher ratio at all elementary schools for 1988-89 and 1990-91, looking at the situation in schools in the year the reform act was passed and the second year of implementation. We found no consistent pattern between the proportion of low income students and the pupil teacher ratio in either year. Thus, schools with higher proportions of low income students do not have more teachers, as one might expect, and those schools, which basically received more supplemental, discretionary funding, did not generally use those funds to add teachers to school staffs. We did note, however, that the pupil teacher ratio across the system dropped by about one an half pupils, from 18.7 to 1 down to 17.2 to 1. In part this reflected the decision to restore art and music teachers to the elementary schools, after the budget was adopted in the Fall of 1988.

In examining the staffing of the system's elementary schools, we did discover that the average annual salary of teachers tended to be slightly higher in the schools with fewer low income students. This probably reflects faculties with fewer years experience and less advanced education in the more low-income schools. There was no significant change in the correlation for FY 1989 as compared with that for FY 1991 (r = 0.15 vs. 0.13), meaning there was no change in the small imbalance in average salaries. The Panel had reported in 1987 that schools with heavy concentrations of low income students had faculties with

significantly less experience (Hess & Greer, 1987), and we must report now that that appears to continue to be the case.

On what, then, are Local School Councils spending their new discretionary funding? From systemwide data, it appears that, in addition to the art and music teachers, schools have added educational support staff, relatively equally across the system. It appears that schools with heavier concentrations of low income students have chosen to focus on adding aides. In addition, they may have made more material purchases of computers, copy machines, books, and supplies. The Chicago Panel is currently analyzing staffing changes at a sample of 14 schools to better assess the school level impact of budget reallocations.

Continuing Concerns

On the whole, the evidence presented in this report indicates that the allocation of resources within the Chicago Public Schools is tending towards greater equity. Base level funding appears to be leveling out among all schools and categorical programs and discretionary spending from State Chapter I are providing extra assistance to students who need that assistance the most. Clearly, equity has not yet been achieved, but the implementation of the reform act is driving the system towards greater equity.

However, there are a number of arenas of continuing concern. Most of the concerns are related to the overall fiscal health of the Chicago Board of Education. The actions of the Interim Board of Education committing the system to sizeable employee raises, cumulatively exceeding 33 percent, has created a continuing budget crisis. The Interim Board twice committed itself to raises, knowing that it did not have the revenues to sustain the increased expenditures. During the spring of 1990, spending was curtailed and teacher positions were cut from the base level of program support in order to build up a "salvage" fund to carry over to FY 1991. In addition, the Board was forced to ask the state's permission to reduce its pension contributions for three years in order to pay its promised raises for the first year of new employee contracts. This forced further teacher reductions at the beginning of the current school year (1990-91). Further, school aides in high schools, mandated under the contract with the Chicago Teachers Union, and therefore, presumably part of the basic program, were required by the administration to be included within high school discretionary spending. It seems indefensible that "required spending" can be considered "discretionary."

The effect of the staff reductions ordered during the spring of 1990 was to force Local School Councils to include the reduced positions in their discretionary spending to maintain the level of programs to which they were accustomed. While the administration claimed these reductions were made to equalize the base level of funding, this turned out to be *equalization by subtraction*, rather than *equalization by redistribution* as the framers of the legislation had intended. Together, these various administrative actions have

significantly reduced the real discretion available to Local School Councils, particularly for those at high schools.

It is currently estimated that the Chicago Board of Education faces a deficit for FY 1992 in excess of $200 million. Revenues are projected to remain close to the FY 1991 levels. Under the lump sum allocation provisions of the reform act, only fully in effect during this second year of reform implementation, it does not appear that the superintendent now has the right to freeze local school spending to accumulate an end of the year surplus, thus actual resources will be less than in FY 1991. In addition, the Board is required to assume responsibility for an additional 20 percent of the basic program costs formerly inappropriately funded by State Chapter I funds. Union contracts call for an additional seven percent salary increase, though there is an escape clause in the contract if the Board does not have the funds to support this raise.

Under this kind of budget pressure, engendered by fiscally irresponsible wage commitments by the Interim Board, the ability of the current Board to continue the reallocation of resources mandated by the reform act is in doubt. It appears that the Interim Board may have placed the current Board in the position of having to choose between reneging on its agreement with its employees or disobeying its legal mandate to continue reallocating its resources.

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Position Analysis
Chicago Public Schools
1990–91

Type Positions	Operating Salaries	Operating Positions	Govt Funded Salaries	Govt Fd Positions	Total Salaries	Total Positions	Staff Balance Operating	Staff Balance Govt Fd	Average Salary	Percent By Type
SYSTEMWIDE STAFF										
STUDENT CONTACT										
Teachers	639,718,812	18,965.9	$126,087,703	3,761.4	$765,806,515	22,727.3	83.4%	16.6%	33,695	51.6%
Educational Support Staff	89,800,797	2,589.9	14,265,428	424.9	104,066,225	3,014.8	85.9%	14.1%	34,518	6.9%
Aides	22,457,372	1,863.8	47,254,863	3,287.0	69,712,235	5,150.8	36.2%	63.8%	13,534	11.7%
ADMINISTRATION										
Administrators	59,471,938	1,142.9	14,702,729	322.4	74,174,667	1,465.3	78.0%	22.0%	50,621	3.3%
Professional/Technical	9,456,785	274.5	2,626,409	103.0	12,083,194	377.5	72.7%	27.3%	32,008	0.9%
OPERATIVES										
Clerical/Support	71,175,398	5,755.7	14,793,360	831.1	85,968,758	6,586.8	87.4%	12.6%	13,052	15.0%
Maintenance/Operations	114,492,445	4,657.0	486,102	30.9	114,978,547	4,687.9	99.3%	0.7%	24,527	10.7%
Grand Total	$1,006,573,547	35,249.7	$220,216,594	8,760.7	$1,226,790,141	44,010.4	80.1%	19.9%	27,875	100.0%
ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS										
STUDENT CONTACT										
Teachers	0	0.0	1,554,704	65.0	$1,554,704	65.0	0.0%	100.0%	23,919	0.1%
Educational Support Staff	10,780,263	357.7	4,482,020	131.6	15,262,283	489.3	73.1%	26.9%	31,192	1.1%
Aides	501,830	29.0	1,418,743	107.0	1,920,573	136.0	21.3%	78.7%	14,122	0.3%
ADMINISTRATION										
Administrators	20,938,583	414.8	12,359,308	265.5	33,297,891	680.3	61.0%	39.0%	48,946	1.5%
Professional/Technical	8,623,668	241.0	1,809,330	65.0	10,432,998	306.0	78.8%	21.2%	34,095	0.7%
OPERATIVES										
Clerical/Support	17,295,989	965.4	4,184,054	206.6	21,480,043	1,172.0	82.4%	17.6%	18,328	2.7%
Maintenance/Operations	25,356,733	777.0	166,033	6.0	25,522,766	783.0	99.2%	0.8%	32,596	1.8%
Administration Totals	$83,497,066	2,784.9	$25,974,192	846.7	$109,471,258	3,631.6	76.7%	23.3%	30,144	8.3%
SCHOOLS										
STUDENT CONTACT										
Teachers	639,718,812	18,965.9	124,532,999	3,696.4	$764,251,811	22,662.3	83.7%	16.3%	33,723	51.5%
Educational Support Staff	79,020,534	2,232.2	9,783,408	293.3	88,803,942	2,525.5	88.4%	11.6%	35,163	5.7%
Aides	21,955,542	1,834.8	45,836,120	3,180.0	67,791,662	5,014.8	36.6%	63.4%	13,518	11.4%
ADMINISTRATION										
Administrators	38,533,355	728.1	2,343,421	56.9	40,876,776	785.0	92.8%	7.2%	52,072	1.8%
Professional/Technical	833,117	33.5	817,079	38.0	1,650,196	71.5	46.9%	53.1%	23,080	0.2%
OPERATIVES										
Clerical/Support	53,879,409	4,790.3	10,609,306	624.5	64,488,715	5,414.8	88.5%	11.5%	11,910	12.3%
Maintenance/Operations	89,135,712	3,880.0	320,069	24.9	89,455,781	3,904.9	99.4%	0.6%	22,909	8.9%
School Totals	$923,076,481	32,464.8	$194,242,402	7,914.0	$1,117,318,883	40,378.8	80.4%	19.6%	27,671	91.7%

3/12/91

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